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I.—ANCIENT SINOPE.

FIRST PART.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

No monograph on Sinope has been written since 1855. In that year, when interest in the Black Sea towns had been for some time stimulated by the Crimean war, and Sinope had been forced into temporary prominence by a naval battle near the town between the Turks and Russians, appeared W. T. Streuber's historical sketch (*Sinope, ein Historisch-Antiquarischer Umriss*, Basel, 1855). It was marred by many mistakes, and the author could not avail himself of the numerous inscriptions and coins which have since thrown so much light upon the city's annals. Many of the best histories of Greece and of the Greek colonies, moreover, have been written during the half-century that has elapsed since that time. In 1902, while I was studying as fellow at the American School in Athens, Professor Edward Capps suggested that I use the opportunity to make a thorough investigation of all material connected with ancient Sinope and, if practicable, embody the results in a connected account. Kindly letters from Professor Edward Meyer of Berlin and Professor George Busolt of Göttingen encouraged me to make the attempt. After much preliminary study I went in June, 1903, to live in the town itself, made journeys in different directions through the immediate locality and sought to quicken and unify my investigations into a living, historic portrayal. How far I have succeeded the reader must judge for himself.

The indebtednesses of the author are of course many and varied, as the notes and references indicate. In addition to the geographical works cited on page 126, mention should be made of the brief *Sinopicarum Quaestionum Specimen* by M. Sengebusch (Berlin, 1846), of the article by Six on coins of Sinope in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1885, of the general histories, and especially of Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos*, and Reinach-Götz, *Mithradates Eupator*. The ancient sources and other modern works will be found cited throughout the paper.

CHAPTER I.

THE SITE.

The configuration of the country round Sinope, its geographic position, its products, the security of its double harbor, and the impregnability of its rocky promontory, have conspired to write its name in the annals of war, of commerce, of popular and governmental independence and development, and of biography, literature, and art.

The northern coast of Asia Minor is like a central mounting billow with a trough on each side. The billow and the two troughs taken together, form the entire southern shore of the Pontus, and the outline is symmetrical, so that the crest of the wave is the middle point of the shore. The crest, however, is somewhat flattened, and just at its eastern edge, before it begins to fall away, it throws out a bold promontory.¹ From the eastern corner of this main promontory² juts out in a north-easterly direction the smaller peninsula on whose low landward neck Sinope is built.³

The peninsula itself is a promontory,⁴ about 600 feet in height, with precipitous sides and a broad level table-land at the top. Its outline somewhat resembles that of a boar's head with the

¹ Called Syrias in Marcian, *Epitome Peripli Maris Interni*. 9; but Lepte in Arrian, *Peripl.* 21; and Syrias Acrulepte in the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 20. Cf. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* I, pp. 571, 387, 406. The modern Turkish name is Indjé-burun.

² *Geographi Minores*, pl. XVIII.

³ Cf. Strabo XII 545 ἰδρνται γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐχένι Χερρονήσου; cf. Polybius IV 56, οἰκεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τινος Χερρονήσου προτεινοῖσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἥς τὸν μὲν αὐχένα τὸν συνιάπτοντα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅς ἐστιν οὐ πλεῖον δυοῖν σταδίων, ἡ πόλις ἐπικειμένη διακλείει κυρίως. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς Χερρονήσου πρόκειται μὲν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐστὶ δ' ἐπίπεδον καὶ πανευέφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, κύκλῳ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης ἀπότομον καὶ δυσπροσβόριστον καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγας ἔχον προσβάσεις; Herod. IV 12; Eust. *Commentarii* 248, 773, 970; Plut. Luc. 23.

⁴ Several travellers and geographers mention this promontory, which to-day is called Boz-tepé (gray hill), a name which is also applied to the Greek quarter of Sinope, just outside the walls of the Turkish village, itself called Sinub or Sinob or Sinab; and also to the eastern cape where the modern lighthouse stands: cf. Meletios, *Geographie* p. 482; Ritter, *Kleinasien* I, pp. 784, 794; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*. II, p. 344 ff; Rottiers, *Itineraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, p. 275; Taitbout de Marigny,

highest point at the snout in the extreme east. It is about two miles in length and one mile in width at the widest part. It appears to have been of volcanic formation and, judging by the cretaceous over the volcanic deposits, to have been at one time below the level of the sea and afterwards heaved up slowly into its present position. The rock is evidently of volcanic nature and is of the same quality with those in eastern Anatolia. In the north central part of the nearly level plateau there still exists a lake which is at present very shallow, but which probably is an old crater.¹ Such geologic formation, after decomposition by the weather, has considerable fertility.² At the time of my visit cows, horses, and goats were pasturing upon the short grass. There were also abundant wild flowers and shrubbery, including juniper and laurel. Under the conditions of an ancient siege the produce of the entire area might support a considerable army even when all other supplies were cut off. Water also would be abundant. A short distance down the slope by which the promontory descends to the town,³ there is a cave in which there is an underground stream of cool, drinkable water.⁴ Both the inflow and the outflow are secure from pollution. An underground passage-way leads from the cave down to the town. Its date is later than the Greek or Roman period, but the idea of reaching the hidden water in this protected way might have suggested itself at any time. There are springs also on the plateau itself,⁵ one of which in the

Pilote de la Mer Noire et de la Mer d'Azov, p. 159; Tozer, Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor, p. 7. A view of Sinope and Boz-tepé from the southeast is given in Tournefort, Relation d'un Voyage du Levant II, lettre 17, p. 203; Reclus, Nouvelle Géographie Universelle IX, p. 566 (with map and photograph of Sinope); Jaubert, Voyage en Arménie et en Perse, p. 394; cf. also page 128, note 4 of this paper and Mannert, Géographie 6, 3, 15.

¹ This is the opinion of Brauns, who wrote a good article on the geology of the peninsula of Sinope, entitled Beobachtungen in Sinope, in the Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde N. F. II (1857), p. 28 ff. He gives a good geological map.

² Cf. Strabo XII 545, ἀνωθεν μέντοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγεών ἐστι τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἀγροκηπίοις κεκόσμηται πυκνοῖς, πολλὸν δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ προάστεια.

³ Cf. Polybius IV 56.

⁴ The cave to-day is called 'Byzana' by the Greeks, because the water seems to flow from breasts. A religious ceremony is performed there in the spring-time. Perhaps Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, p. 312, refers to this cave.

⁵ The modern town gets its water from the peninsula; cf. Hamilton, op. cit. p. 312.

southeasterly portion sends its stream out horizontally from a hillock into a sarcophagus of Roman date bearing a Greek inscription.¹

While the general outline of the promontory may be compared to a boar's head, its steep bristling sides have caused it to be likened to a petrified hedgehog.² The action of the sea against rocks of varying hardness, such as trachyte, black volcanic breccia, red chalky scaglia, also varying greatly in density, shelly limestone, and sandstone,³ has left a mass of sharp projections around the coast. Down at the water-line, and below the surface, the sea has hollowed out caves and water-filled holes, the "Choenicides" of Strabo.⁴ Upon such a shore⁵ it was almost impossible to effect a landing, and still more difficult to reach the easily defended plateau above.

Descending in a southwesterly direction along the axis of the promontory, we cross through the low neck, narrowed by the double harbor to about a quarter of a mile⁶ in width and ascend to the mainland, a region of extraordinary beauty and fertility. Southward the foreground shows scattered areas of wheat, barley, corn, rice, and other grain interspersed with vineyards and orchards of fruit-trees of the widest variety. There are apples, pears, figs, peaches, plums, medlars, apricots and cherries. The last are natives of this southern shore and are believed to have been carried from this place of origin to Italy and thence to other lands. Cerasus, a colony of Sinope on this same shore,⁷ got its name from the abundance of its cherry-trees.⁸ The olive tree

¹ Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905) p. 315, no. 44.

² Cf. Reinach-Götz, Mithradates Eupator p. 352 and the epithet *ἐχινώδης* applied to the rock in Strabo XII 545. Cf. also Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 14.

³ Cf. the article of Brauns, p. 28 ff. and Hamilton, op. cit. p. 312 for the geology of the promontory of Sinope.

⁴ Cf. Strabo XII 545. καὶ κύκλῳ δ' ἡ Χερρόνησος προβέβληται ῥαχιδέας ἀκτὰς ἐχούσας καὶ κοιλάδας τινὰς ὥσανεὶ βόθρους πετρίνους οἷς καλοῦσι χοινικίδας. πληροῦνται δὲ οὗτοι μετεωρισθείσης τῆς θαλάττης, ὥς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐπρόσιτον τὸ χωρίον καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἐπιφάνειαν ἐχινώδη καὶ ἀνεπίβητον εἶναι γυμνῷ ποδί. For the Choenicides, cf. Hamilton, op. cit. p. 310 and Ritter, Kleinasien I, p. 776.

⁵ Orph. Argonautika 757, τρηχύν τ' ἀγκῶνα Σινώπης; Polyb. IV 56, 5 and note 4 on this page.

⁶ Cf. Polyb. ibid., οὐ πλεον δυοῖν σταδίων.

⁷ Xen. Anab. V 3, 2.

⁸ Athen. II 51 a; Plin. N. H. XV 30; Ammianus XXII 8, 16; Steph. s. *Κέρασος* Eust. Il. II 853; Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere,⁵ pp. 327, 345 f.

was anciently more abundant than now,¹ and Sinope is its westward limit on the Pontus.² I saw but few groves,³ whereas Strabo seems to think of the whole region as covered with them. Further away in the background and to the eastward and westward are noble forests of oak, pine, walnut, chestnut, maple, elm, beech, box, cypress, and other trees, with an undergrowth of shrubs. There are also many of the latter out in the open. In the distance is the purple, waving outline of the mountain rampart, which separated the old Greek civilization of the coast from the barbarian people of the interior,⁴ and, in fact, performs a similar function to-day. The mountainous district, however, must not be thought of as rugged and unfertile; for, on the contrary, it is like the maritime plain, richly productive, the mountain slopes and valleys especially possessing a high degree of fertility.

The exact area of the territory of the state of Sinope⁵ cannot now be determined. It was much less than that of the province of Paphlagonia to which it belonged,⁶ whether the eastern limit of that province be drawn at the Thermodon, the Iris, or the town of Amisus;⁷ for Strabo indicates a separation between the district

¹ Cf. Strabo XII 546, *ἅπαντα δὲ καὶ ἐλαιόφυτός ἐστιν ἡ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης γεωργουμένη* and 73, *τὰ δὲ τῆς Σινώπης προάστεια καὶ τῆς Ἀμισοῦ καὶ τῆς Φαναροίας τὸ πλεον ἐλαιόφυτά ἐστι*; Cf. Eust. II. II 853.

² Xen. Anab. VI 4, 6, and Jaubert op. cit. p. 395 "Plus près de Constantinople l'humidité du sol et l'inconstance des vents empêchent que cet arbre délicat ne prospère". Perhaps the southwestern wind that blew from Phrygia, called *βερεκυντίας* was the cause of the growth of the olives at Sinope; cf. Aristotle 973 a, 24; frag. 238, 1521 b, 17.

³ On Boz-tepé just outside the Greek quarter as you go toward the Quarantine Station, Nesi Kieui, there is to-day a grove of olives, and there are some on the mainland, but the tree is not in favor among the present inhabitants.

⁴ Cf. Cic. de Rep. 2, 4.

⁵ The name of the city itself is *Σινώπη*. L. and S. give a short *ι*, but cf. Herodian, *περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας* ed. Lentz II 580, 26. Xenophon says also *ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις*. The name of the Sinopean district is in Xen. (Anab. V 6, 11) *ἡ Σινωπέων χώρα*, in Strabo (XII 546, 561 and elsewhere) *ἡ Σινωπίτις* or *Σινωπίς*. Steph. Byz. gives also *Σινωπίς* and *Σινωπικόν*. The male inhabitant is *Σινωπέης*, Herodian, ed. Lentz II 891, 27, or *Σινωπίτης* (cf. Dion. Orb. Descr. 255 and Herodian, ed. Lentz I 77; II 869, 37), in Latin *Sinopensis* or *Sinopeus*; the female inhabitant *Σινωπίς* (cf. Herodian II 891, 1). The adjective is *Σινωπικός* (Steph. Byz.). *Σινωπαῖος* occurs in C. I. G. 7074.

⁶ Xen. Anab. VI 1, 15. *Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ*. So also Strabo XII 544 f., Diodorus XIV 31, Pliny N. H. VI 2 and Arrian, Periplus, 20, 21.

⁷ Herodotus I 72 and Strabo XII 1, 1; 3, 9, 25 seem to make the Halys the eastern boundary, but Scylax and Marcian, the river Evarchus. In Xeno-

of Amisus and the district of Sinope at the river Halys,¹ still further to the west. On the other hand it is equally clear that Sinope did not extend its power westward to the Bithynian border.² Nature erected a southern limit in the Olgassys mountains.³ Perhaps we should not be far from the truth if we bounded the ancient Sinopean district by the Pontus on the north, the Halys on the east, the Olgassys mountains on the south, and an indefinite line on the west drawn at about the 32nd parallel.⁴

Returning to the town on the neck of the promontory we find upon the site of the ancient city an inner walled enclosure with a Turkish castle and prison, probably the site of the Sinopean acropolis, and outside the wall northeastward, toward the promontory, the Greek and Christian quarter.⁵ Unhappily there are few certain data for reconstructing the ancient city. Looking down from the height above I tried in vain to make a mental plan which would include the stoas, gymnasium, and market-place,⁶ the Palace of Mithradates,⁷ and the Temple of Serapis. There are no ruins or even any mounded outlines for points of departure. However, we have the two walls across the isthmus which have been built and razed and rebuilt in the same positions and out of the most heterogeneous materials arranged in the most disorderly manner. There are foundation stones from buildings; columns of Roman date whose unfluted sides indicate their previous position in stoas;⁸ pieces of sculpture scattered at random, including a lion built into the top of the wall, in one case, while a similar one lies upon the ground;⁹ and pieces of architraves and of cor-

phon's time the Thermodon was the boundary. Plin. VI 2 makes Amisus a city in Paphlagonia. Ptolemy makes a mistake when he (V 4 and VIII 17, 26) includes Sinope in Galatia. It belonged later to the Roman province of Bithynia and Pontus, but never to Galatia (cf. on this Cumont, *Revue des Études Grecques* XVI (1903), pp. 25-27.

¹ Cf. Strabo, XII 546, 560; Arrian *Peripl.* 22; Anonym. *Peripl.* 25.

² Strabo, XII 546.

³ Strabo, XII 561, 562.

⁴ Armene, fifty stadia to the west, was part of Sinope: cf. *Ἀρμένην τῆς Σινώπης*, Xen. *Anab.* VI 1, 15; Strabo, XII 545. But the district of Sinope certainly extended still further west.

⁵ Cf. the geographers and travellers quoted above.

⁶ Cf. Strabo XII 546 *αὐτὴ δ' ἡ πόλις τετείχισται καλῶς, καὶ γυμνασίῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγορᾷ καὶ στοαῖς κεκόσμηται λαμπρῶς.*

⁷ What the inhabitants call "the Palace of Mithradates", a large structure in Boz-tepé with three vaulted chambers and a Byzantine chapel in its midst, is of later date than Mithradates. Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 312 refers to it.

⁸ Perhaps they come from the stoas mentioned by Strabo.

⁹ Cf. Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* p. 346; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

nices. Many other pieces of carving have been carried away by individuals or have found their way into museums, especially that at Constantinople. In the wall nearest the mainland, but on the inside, are arches indicating the remains of a Roman aqueduct.¹ This part of this wall is better built than the rest and probably goes back to Roman date, whereas the greater portion of it, like the other walls, was built by the Genoese and later by Turks.

The main factor in the making of Sinope, as in the making of Cyzicus, has been its double harbor² commanding the eastward and westward sea and in both ancient and modern times the best on the southern shore of the Pontus. In ancient times the southerly harbor was improved and ruins exist of a mole³ which seems to be as old as Mithradates the Great. No river flows into either harbor to silt it up, but the northerly harbor has been shallowed by sand deposits and is no longer usable by vessels of modern draft. The deeper water and the lighter draft vessels of the ancient day, however, made it accessible for commercial purposes.⁴ It may be that even in the time of Pericles and later in the days of Mithradates the northerly harbor was deep enough for their full-sized craft.

CHAPTER II.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SITE.

It may well be believed that, however unimportant, through distance and misrule, Sinope may have come to be in the eyes of our western world, the ancient Greeks would hold in high esteem a city-state so fertile, so fortified, and so far-reaching in its natural command of the land and of the sea. An examination

¹ Cf. Hommaire de Hell, op. cit. p. 346; Hamilton, op. cit. p. 309; Ritter, op. cit. p. 789-790; cf. also Pliny Ep., X 91.

² Cf. Strabo XII 545, *ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λιμένες*.

³ Taitbout de Marigny, op. cit. p. 159; Hamilton, op. cit. p. 310.

⁴ In his epitome of the journey of Menippus, Marcian of Heraclea 9 speaks of an island lying off Sinope, *κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων νησίον, ὃ καλεῖται Σκόπελος*. *Ἐχει δὲ δίκκπλουν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι πλοίοις, τὰ δὲ μείζονα περιπλεῖν δεῖ καὶ οὕτω καταίρειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. *Εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς περιπλέονσι τὴν νῆσον πλείους ἄλλοι στάδιοι μ'* (Müller, Geog. Gr. Min. I, p. 571). An anonymous Byzantine writer (Müller, p. 407) of the fifth century uses the same words, doubtless derived from the same source, which is of about the time of Augustus. But the only island existing to-day at Sinope is a small low-lying rock off the promontory, mentioned by Taitbout de Marigny, op. cit. p. 159, the détour of which could not possibly

of their literature shows that such was the actual fact. Strabo¹ and Diodorus² thought it the most notable and important of all cities on the southern shore of the Pontus. Mela³ joins it with Amisus as one of the two most famous cities of the whole region. Valerius Flaccus⁴ calls it "great and wealthy", Eutropius⁵ "most noble" and Stephanus of Byzantium⁶ and Eustathius⁷ "most eminent". Among later writers, Ammianus⁸ and Phrantzes⁹ class it among important cities of antiquity.

More significant testimonies, however, are watermarked rather than expressed. Plautus' Curculio (v. 443) sneers at the *leno* that he, all by himself, within the last twenty days has conquered half of all the nations, including Persians, Paphlagonians, Sinopeans, Arabs, Carians, Cretans, etc. But while his whole long list contains the names of so many nationalities the only city important enough to be included in the sneer is Sinope.

increase the necessary sailing distance by more than a small fraction of 40 stadia. Moreover, the water between this island and the mainland is very deep, and even the largest modern steamer sails boldly through the passage. The solution of the difficulty seems to lie in the word *νησίον*. A peninsula was a land island, (*χερσόνησος*, Halb-insel). The village at the Quarantine station on the promontory to-day is called Nesi Kieui (the island village). The modern Greeks as a matter of fact at present speak of the whole promontory as *νησί*. The confusion between the little island and the promontory has extended to modern writers. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 15 says, "ante hunc portum insula quaedam sita erat, *Σκόπελος* vocata. Naviculis per fretum navigare licebat, quod inter illam est et terram continentem, XL vel L stadiorum iter; magnae naves onerariae Scopelum circumnavigabant per altum mare, LXXX vel LXXXX stadium iter". And even Ritter (Kleinasien, p. 794), following the authority of a Black Sea pilot (Taitbout de Marigny), connects the little island with the Scopelus of Marcian, while in an earlier passage (p. 776) he has made the same word of the same passage refer to the promontory. The increased sailing distance of vessels going round the promontory corresponds quite exactly to the 40 stadia of the writer whom Marcian epitomizes. (Sengebusch wrongly gives 80 or 90 stadia.) And *διέκπλουν* evidently refers not to sailing between the little island and the mainland, but simply to the passage from the town out through the northerly harbor into the open sea. The true interpretation then, of the original writer whom Marcian epitomizes, is that vessels of light draft could sail directly out from or directly into the northerly harbor, while those drawing more water must circumnavigate the promontory for an extra distance of 40 stadia in order to reach the other harbor.

¹ Cf. XII 545, ἀξιολογώτατη τῶν ταύτη πόλεων.

² XIV 31 μέγιστον εἶχεν ἀίωμα τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους.

³ I 19.

⁴ V 109.

⁵ VI 8.

⁶ Cf. s. v. Σινώπη.

⁷ Eust. Commentarii 773.

⁸ XXII 8, 16.

⁹ I 32; IV 19.

Sinope was also the name of a prominent courtesan at Athens who either took or received the name Sinope in the same fashion as other harlots were called Megara and Cyrene.¹ Nor was she a mere individual, or subordinate character, but rather the mistress of an establishment of some size, the inmates of which included the celebrated Pythionike.² The woman also figured in Athenian comedies,³ and even caused a verbal coinage, *σινωπίζειν*,⁴ which meant "to be debauched or dissolute". She seems moreover to have been a marked figure in Athenian life for a long enough period to be called at last Abydos, *διὰ τὸ γράυς εἶναι*.⁵

Sinope, however, has much more reputable associations than these. The scholiast, on the *Odyssey* XII 257, mentions one Sinopos as a companion of Odysseus who was engulfed by the whirlpool at Scylla and Charybdis.⁶ One of the seven editions of Homer was the Sinopic.⁷ One of the cities whose constitution Aristotle thought worthy of a treatise was Sinope.⁸ One of the deliberative orations ascribed, however inaccurately, to Isocrates was the *Σινωπικός*.⁹ The earliest Greek writers¹⁰ celebrated the mythology of this town.

We may note in passing that Sinope was considered to be the headquarters of the Cimmerians,¹¹ that its fortifications were

¹ Sinope was a harlot also in Aegina and Corinth, cf. Athenaeus XIII 595 a; Suidas, s. *Ἐταῖραι Κορίνθιαι*; Schol. Arist. Plut. 149; Dem. XXII 610; LIX 1385; Athenaeus XIII 594 a. For fact that harlots as slaves were often named after their birth-place, cf. Bechtel, *Die Attischen Frauennamen*, p. 57 f. (Bechtel omits the names of the harlots Sinope and Cyrene. For Cyrene cf. Arist. Thesm. 98; Frogs 1328.

² Cf. Athenaeus XIII 595 a; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, I 2, p. 239.

³ Cf. Athenaeus VIII 339 a; XIII 558 b, 567 f, 586 a.

⁴ Cf. Apostol. XV 50 in Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, II, p. 641; and Suidas, Photius, Hesychius, s. v. *σινωπίζειν*.

⁵ Cf. Athenaeus XIII 558 b, 586 a; cf. Photius, Suidas, *Harpocration* s. v. *Σινώπη*.

⁶ Cf. Eustathius 1721, 9; Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unters* VII 167; Maass, (*Hermes*, XXIII 618) identifies him, rather improbably with Sinon who played an important part in the taking of Troy in the *Little Iliad*. Cf. Virgil *Aeneid* II, 29 and also Paus. X 27, 3.

⁷ Schol. Il. I 298, 423, 435; II 258; V 461. Wolf's *Prolegomena*, p. 175; Pauly, *Realencyclop.* s. v. *Homerus*; Ludwig, *Aristarchs Hom Text-kritik*, I, p. 4.

⁸ Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 948; Arist. fr. 540, 1567 b23. ⁹ Cf. Anonym. Vit. Isoc.

¹⁰ Eumelus of Corinth and Hecataeus of Miletus. Cf. Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 946; Eudocia s. v. *Σινώπη* and Arist. I. c.

¹¹ Her. IV 12; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I, p. 453.

renowned,¹ and that its fleet dominated the Pontus and even sailed away for contests in other seas.²

As a last testimony to the consequence of Sinope, and in order to put it in immediate connection with our discussion of the commerce of the port in the next chapter, we here note that Sinope was a frequent point from which to reckon distances and for elucidating geographical relations.³ Although Pteria is not near Sinope, as was formerly supposed, but was considerably south of it, as Ramsay shows,⁴ it was nevertheless spoken of as *κατὰ Σινώπην*,⁵ or as we might say, on the same parallel with Sinope. And again, although the narrowest part of Asia Minor was on the line from the gulf of Issus to Amisus, the superior importance of Sinope led Strabo to draw his line of shortest transit to that city and not to Amisus.⁶ It was from Sinope that Carusa was distant 150 stadia,⁷ Amisus 900 stadia,⁸ Phasis 2 or 3 days' journey⁹ and, in the westerly direction, Armene 40 stadia,¹⁰ Cape Carambis 700 stadia,¹¹ further away Cytorus 1312 stadia,¹² Amastris 1450 stadia,¹³ Heraclea 2000 stadia¹⁴ and the Hieron of Jupiter Urius at the Thracian Bosphorus, 3500 stadia.¹⁵ Many places are said to be situated "near Sinope", though some of them as a matter of fact are not very near it. Abonutichos¹⁶ is ἀγγεὶς Σινώπης. The Halys¹⁷ and Thermodon¹⁸ are ποταμοὶ περὶ Σινώπην. Heraclea¹⁹ was a πόλις περὶ Σινώπην. Corocondame²⁰ was πλησίον Σινώπης. Strabo calls the

¹ Priscianus 751.

² Strabo XII 545.

³ Sinope was the Greenwich of antiquity, cf. Bury, History of Greece, p. 236.

⁴ Ramsay, Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor, p. 33, identifies Pteria with Boghaz-
kieui. Cf. also Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, IV 598 ff,
Steph. Byz. Πτερία, πόλις Σινώπης.

⁵ Her. I 76, ἥ δὲ Πτερὶή ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον κατὰ Σινώπην
πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ μάλιστα καὶ κειμένη. There is no reason for conclud-
ing from this passage that Herodotus visited Sinope, as Matzat, Hermes VI
416, does. Herodotus certainly visited Phasis and probably got his informa-
tion from Sinopean merchants there.

⁶ Strabo XVI 677.

⁷ Cf. Arrian Peripl. Pont. Eux. 21.

⁸ Cf. Strabo XII 547; according to Pliny N. H. VI 2, 1040 stadia (130 miles).

⁹ Cf. Strabo XI 498.

¹⁰ Cf. Arrian Peripl. 21; Anonym. Peripl. 21; Marcian Epitome Periplus
Menippe 9.

¹¹ Marcian op. cit. 9; Strabo XII 546; Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 945.

¹² Pliny N. H. VI 2 says 164 miles.

¹³ Marcian, op. cit. 9.

¹⁴ Strabo XII 546; Marcian op. cit. 9 gives 2040.

¹⁵ Strabo *ibid.*; Marcian *ibid.*, gives 3570.

¹⁶ Lucian Alexander II.

¹⁷ Schol. Apoll. Rh. 2, 366.

¹⁸ Tzetz. Lyc. 647.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 695.

²⁰ Steph. s. v.

southern shore of the Pontus τὴν Σινώπης παραλίαν¹ and Eratosthenes speaks of Παφλαγονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Σινώπην.² Livy³ locates Gordium as a point equally distant from the Hellespont, the Cilician shore, and the sea at Sinope. Cicero's oratory⁴ finds the remotest enemies of Rome with whom Verres had communicated at the Spanish Dianium on the west and at Sinope on the east. Isocrates⁵ marks the limits of the Greek population in Asia Minor by Cnidus and Cilicia in the west and Sinope in the east. Pliny⁶ puts it in the fifth segment of the world, while Avienus⁷ in the fifth century A. D. places it near the confines of the earth.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMERCE OF SINOPE.

The ship's prow often found upon the obverse of coins of Sinope is an indication of its commercial instinct.⁸ In fact the distances given at the close of the last chapter are in the main commercial, and lead us on to discuss its trade relations which were of the highest importance. To the list of places already mentioned we must add the islands of the Aegean, including Rhodes⁹ and Delos, to which votive offerings were shipped,¹⁰ Attica, Greece in general,¹¹ and even Egypt.¹² Its coastwise trade covered

¹ Strabo I 46; II 74. ² In Strabo II 134. ³ XXXVIII 18, 12.

⁴ Or. against Verres, 2, 1, 34. For the idea cf. also Tusc. Disp. 1, 20.

⁵ Philip, 120; Panegyricus, 162.

⁶ N. H. VI 216.

⁷ Descriptio Orbis Terrae, 951 ff (775) = Müller, op. cit. II, 185 "propter confinia terrae".

⁸ Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, pp. 38, 48, pl. II, 15, 19; Zeitschrift f. Num. XX p. 273; Head, Historia Numorum, p. 434.

⁹ Rhodes aided Sinope in its successful resistance of Mithradates II in 220 B. C., probably because of commercial friendship; cf. Polyb. IV 56. For Sinopeans in Rhodes cf. I. G. XII 1. (C. I. G. Ins. I.) 465; 466, 467.

¹⁰ Cf. Paus. I 31, 2.

¹¹ Sinope's trade relations with the Greek world were so important that it adopted the Aeginetan standard for the drachma, Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 41.

¹² The story of the carrying of the image of Serapis to Egypt, told in Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84 and elsewhere shows this. Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 20, says Ptolemy relieved Sinope from famine by a supply of corn. Furthermore we know of a Sinopean Demetrius who was a landowner in Egypt, cf. Amherst Papyri II, no. XLII, LV.

the entire shore from the Thracian Bosphorus¹ to Phasis² and included Heraclea, Cytorus,³ Carambis, Ionopolis, Amisus, Cotyora, Cerasus, Trapezus,⁴ and many other ports. But I am convinced that the volume of direct trade between the northern shore of the Pontus and Sinope has been underrated. The fact is that ancient navigators could cross the Pontus just at this point without losing sight of land for more than a few hours on ordinary days, and on very clear days without losing sight of it at all. Writers like Reinach⁵ assume that the statement of Strabo,⁶ that both the promontory Carambis on the Asiatic side and the promontory Criumetopon at the end of the Crimea could be seen from the middle of the sea, is an instance of the underestimating of maritime distances by the ancients. There is no warrant for this criticism, for both promontories can be seen to-day from the middle of the sea.⁷ This great advantage was available to the ancient navigator neither in the wider westward nor in the eastward third of the sea, but only in the central one. To follow the coast multiplied the distance greatly. Hence, when the route was once established the north shore ships would strike boldly out for the central headlands of Asia Minor and for Sinope, the commercial metropolis of the region. Their goods would then be transhipped in Sinopean bottoms to points further east or west, or would proceed in the same vessels without shifting of cargoes. The statement of Pausanias⁸ that the first fruits of the Hyperboreans of the opposite territories were carried by the Sinopeans to Delos indicates a general commercial route directly across the Pontus. It is well known that coins of Sinope stamped with the device of the eagle grasping the dolphin have been discovered on the northern shore at Olbia,⁹ and I found at Sinope handles of amphoras with the same inscriptions as those found in such

¹ A son of Polydorus, a Sinopean, dwelt in Tomi; cf. *Am. Jour. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 331.

² Polyb. IV 56 says Sinope was situated on the right of the Pontus *παρὰ Φάσιν*.

³ Strabo XII 544 τὸ δὲ Κίτωρον ἐμπόριον ἦν ποτε Σινωπέων.

⁴ Cotyora, Cerasus and Trapezus were colonies of Sinope; cf. *Xen. Anab.* V.

⁵ Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 56.

⁶ Strabo VII 309, cf. also II 124; Pliny N. H. IV 86.

⁷ The officers of Black Sea steamers volunteered this information to me.

⁸ Paus. I 31, 2.

⁹ Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 34; Streuber, *Sinope* (Basel, 1855) p. 60. The same device, borrowed from Sinope probably, occurs also on coins of Olbia itself. Cf. Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia*, J. H. S. XXII p. 263.

large quantities at Olbia.¹ Becker² assumes from the large number excavated there that it was the centre of their manufacture, but an equally large number might perhaps be found by excavations at Sinope and elsewhere. In any case those that I found still further emphasize the commercial relations of Sinope with Olbia and the northern shore. An additional evidence of close connection between the two shores is found in the similarity of personal names.³ Even north shore inscriptions in some cases show the names of Sinopean citizens.⁴ The general impression made by all this evidence is that vessels proceeded from both east and west coastwise to the central section of the sea where it was so much narrower than elsewhere and then turned directly across it, and that a commercial lane was in this way established for the great volume of Black Sea trade, which would thus pass in and out at the fine harbor of Sinope.⁵

A point from which commercial articles were thus distributed by sea was likewise a point toward which converged the various roads by which the products to be exported were brought in and along which at least a certain amount of goods went back to the interior districts. The great caravan routes from India,⁶ and the

¹ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 294-300.

² *N. Jahrbücher für kl. Phil. Suppl.* X, pp. 67, 108 f.

³ Cf. the *Prosopographia Sinopensis* (to be published in the second part of this paper) with index IV 3 in Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.*

⁴ Cf. p. 136, note 1; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 252, from Panticapaeum. Cf. Latyshev op. cit. I 185, II 298, 299; cf. C. I. L. III 783; Diodorus XX 25 and Strabo XI 496 also show a close relation between Sinope and the Cimmerian Bosphorus; cf. Reinach-Götze, op. cit. pp. 56, 225. The Sinopean historian Theopompus also was acquainted with the region; cf. Phlegon, *Mirab.* c. 19. Sengebusch op. cit. p. 34, says 'alio titulo Olbiano mentio facta est Theogiti Sinopensium astynomi'. The inscription is on a vase handle C. I. G. 2085 b Θεογείτων ἀστυνόμων; Σινωπίων. Both Sengebusch and the C. I. G. are in error, for Σινωπίων is the name of the vase-maker; cf. an identical inscription in Becker, *Mélanges Gréco-romaines* I 494, no. 16. For Σινωπίων as a proper name cf. also *N. Jahrbücher f. kl. Phil. Suppl.* IV, p. 472, 38, 39; *Suppl.* V, p. 483, 29; *Suppl.* X, p. 31, 4; p. 35, 17; p. 224, 2. In Streuber op. cit. p. 91 the name of the Sinopean citizen Theocles is wrongly given as Theogeitos.

⁵ This would explain why in Herod. II 34 Sinope is said to be situated opposite the mouth of the Ister. A merchant boat going from the Ister to Phasis or vice versa would avoid the open sea as much as possible and sail by way of Sinope.

⁶ If goods were not brought all the way to Sinope by land, they were taken to Phasis and shipped to Sinope; cf. Reinach-Götze, op. cit. p. 216.

far east followed such rivers as the Euphrates in the south and the Araxes¹ in the north, but as they approached the heart of Asia Minor, the problem was to get the goods through to the Greek and Roman world. Up to the Roman times there was no good road from the East through western Asia Minor to the Aegean. The old Hittite road, afterwards the Persian postal road, served more as a bond between the different parts of the Persian Empire than as a means of transporting goods to Greece. The well-known Ephesus highway was not yet built.² The great eastern system of roads centering in Persia and the great western systems centering in Greece and Rome had no good connecting links at the coast of the Aegean. The solution of the difficulty was in a water route. The best harbor on the southern shore of the Black Sea would become the terminal land point of the great caravans which seem, in sharp contrast to the present, to have contained few, if any, camels. That harbor was Sinope. To this port branch roads were built from the great Persian highways. It is true that Sinope had no good direct connection with the interior, but its shipping facilities were superior and a coastwise road connected it further east with a more favorable point of departure for the interior. Sinope's commerce suffered an inevitable decline when the Roman roads were built and perfected to the great cities of the eastern coast of the Aegean, but in the earlier times the great Persian net-work of lateral and transverse³ lines of transit in Asia Minor may be considered, so far as through travel is concerned, as in the main converging upon the double harbor of Sinope.⁴

A study of the roads in the more immediate general district serves to complete our picture of it as an isolated and strategic point for interior trade connections, having no good landward approaches along the coast except from Amisus. Hecatonymus,

¹ Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 225.

² Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 28; Strabo XII 540; XIV 663.

³ Such a transverse road was that from the Gulf of Issus to Sinope on which Pteria was probably situated; cf. Her. I 72; II 34; but 'an active man' could hardly 'cover the distance in five days'. Cf. also Livy XXXVIII 18; Strabo XIV 664; Ps. Scylax 102; Ps. Scymnus 921 f; Plin. N. H. VI 7, and cf. Athen. Mitt. XXII (1897), p. 3, note 3; Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 226. Macan, Herodotus (bks. IV-VI) App. XIII, p. 293.

⁴ Cf. a good article on the roads of the Pontus by Munro in the J. H. S. XXI (1901) pp. 52 ff, pl. IV; cf. also Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, ed. 5, vol. I, pp. 405, 408.

the Sinopean, whom Xenophon's Ten Thousand met at Cotyora, warned him that only by going back into the interior and over the difficult mountain roads could he get around into Sinope.¹ His representations were so convincing that Xenophon had his army proceed from Cotyora by water. Similar representations no doubt, at least in part, account for his again taking ship from Sinope westward.

It is hardly practicable at present to locate the ancient roads close to Sinope. In exploring the back country I found Roman mile-stones at a distance of perhaps 25 or 30 miles in a southeasterly direction from the town, but they were not in situ, nor were others which I found in other directions.² Nor is it possible to tell how far the Romans built along the old lines or in new directions. But it is probably safe to say in a general way that there were numerous highways good and bad reaching into the interior. Certainly there must have been bridges at certain points upon the Halys.³

It is already evident that the goods shipped in vast quantities at Sinope were the products in part of the immediate locality, in part of the remoter portions of Asia Minor, and in part came from the far east. These last, including jewelry, ivory, bronzes and oriental luxuries in general,⁴ do not especially concern us here, and in attempting to classify Sinope's exports we shall confine ourselves to articles from its immediate neighborhood and from those interior regions of Asia Minor which found their most immediate natural outlet at Sinope. Neglecting numerous minor items such as nuts,⁵ hides,⁶ grain (small in quantity as compared

¹ Xen. Anab. V 6, 3 ff.; B. C. H. 1901, p. 41 ff.; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 232; Ainsworth, Travels in Asia Minor, vol. I, p. 92.

² Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 328 f, nos. 75-79. The beginning of no. 75 can be restored by means of J. H. S. XX (1900), p. 163, no. 7 and C. I. L. III, 6895. Read Imp. Caes. C. Aur. Val.] Diocl[etiano P(io) F(elici) Invicto Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val.] M[aximia]n[o]. The latter part of no. 75 refers to the three sons of Constantine the Great. So in next to last line read Fl. Co(n)sta(n)ti nob(ilissimis) C(aesaribus). In no. 76, in which we have a case of praes(es) used in a technical sense before Diocletian, we should expect in l. 5 filio eius et N. Aur. Num(eriano). But the inscription is carelessly cut.

³ E. g. the bridge which was regarded as a wonder by the Greeks, Ramsay, op. cit. p. 31; Herod. I 75.

⁴ Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, V, p. 198.

⁵ Athen. II 54 d; Hehn, Kultur-pflanzen und Haustihere, 6th ed., p. 380.

⁶ Cf. Dem. XXXIV 10; Strabo, XI 493.

with the product of the northern shore), honey, wax,¹ stones for gems² etc. we mention:

1. Fish. The tunny was most important. Its great spawning ground was the vast swampy shores of the palus Maeotis. Strabo³ says that, while still exceedingly small, the shoals made their way along the coast in an easterly and southerly direction. By the time they reached Trapezus and Pharnacia they were of considerable size and the first catch was at these points. But those that got round to Sinope, were much larger and the hauls were immense, though neither fish nor catch was so large as at Byzantium. These fish were salted or pickled and sent to Greece, where they were a staple article of diet for the common people.⁴ There seems to have been an extraordinary difference in price between Greece and Rome, for, however common and cheap they were in Greece, Diodorus quotes the price of Pontic fish at Rome as 400 drachmae for a small jarful.⁵ There is a vast wealth of other edible fish in the Pontus,⁶ such as sturgeon, mackerel, turbot, mullet⁷ and dolphin. But ancient literature seems to mention only the last two as caught at Sinope and indeed the last only for its oil and the medicinal value of its liver.

2. Timber. The country around Sinope was covered in ancient times, as it is to-day, with a splendid growth of timber which was utilized for two main purposes, ship-building and the manufacture of furniture.⁸ The ship-timber of the Euxine was celebrated among the ancients.⁹ If Horace's ship of state were to have the utmost staunchness, it must be *Pontica pinus, Silvae filia nobilis*

¹ Polyb. IV 38; Aristotle, *Περὶ θανμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, 831, c. XVII.

² Strabo XII 540; Plin. XXXVI 12, 45; XXXVII 37. For other such articles of export which came mostly from the interior, cf. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 19 ff. and in general on the exports of Sinope cf. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 16 ff. and Streuber, op. cit. p. 50; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 227 f.

³ Strabo VII 320. Cf. also Arist. Hist. An. 598 f. IX 13; Plin. N. H. IX 15, 47-52; Strabo XII 545 *πηλαγονδεία θανμαστά*, words still used in Sinope; XII 549; Aelian IV 9; IX 59; XV 3, 5 and 10; Ritter, op. cit. p. 794 ff.; Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, II 345.

⁴ Cf. Polyb. IV 38; cf. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Gr. Privataltertümer, ed. 3, p. 227, notes 1 and 2.

⁵ Diod. XXXVII 3, 5; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 223 wrongly says 300 drachmae.

⁶ For a list of the fish in the Pontus, cf. Pliny, N. H. XXXII 11 ff.

⁷ Cf. Athenaeus III 118 c; VII 307 b for Sinopic mullets (*κεστρείς*).

⁸ Strabo XII 546; Theophr. Histor. Plant. IV 5, 5.

⁹ Catullus IV 9-13; Verg. Georg. II 437.

(Od. I 14, 11). Great quantities of ship-timber doubtless found their way from the northern shore of the Pontus to Greece by way of Panticapaeum, but there must have been a long period when, as Strabo indicates, the forests of the neighborhood of Sinope sent out through its harbor a large quota of the same material. These heavy exports, however, probably were not made until after the time of Alexander, for according to Thucydides,¹ the store-house of ship-timber seems previously to have been in the much nearer forests of Thrace and Macedonia.

As the oak and pine were used for the construction of vessels, so the maple and walnut were worked into furniture such as couches, and tables.² The maple seems to have been held in peculiarly high estimation, tables made from it being ranked second to the citrus tables only.³

3. Olive-oil. Although, as we have stated (p. 129), Sinope was the westward limit of the olive, it nevertheless grew abundantly in the neighborhood of that town itself,⁴ and the districts east of it would bring their product thither for export. The exports of Sinope thus competed with those of the more southern countries, such as Greece,⁵ in supplying Cappadocia and the western section of the southern shore of the Pontus together with the whole northern coast.⁶

4. Red Earth or Bole. This substance was, in the main at least, iron calcined or oxidized into a soft moist clay. The ancients gave it many names, such as *μῖλτος* and minium.⁷ The common appellation, *Σινωπῆς*, shows that Sinope was regarded as the

¹ Thuc. IV 108; cf. also Hermann, op. cit. p. 436, note 3.

² Cf. Strabo l. c.; Eust. Com. 773; Pliny, N. H. XII 31; Theophr. Histor. Plant. III 3, 1; II 1, 2; V 3, 3; 7, 6 etc.; Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 10; Martial 14, 90; Blümner, Gewerbl. Thätigk. 33, 44, 46, 70, 80. Cf. Ransom, Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, pp. 39, 55. The same wood is used to-day by the Turks for the same purpose.

³ Pliny, N. H. XVI 26; Cic. Verr. IV 17.

⁴ Cf. Strabo XII 545, 546; II 71, 73; Eust. II. II 853.

⁵ Polyb. IV 38.

⁶ Melitene alone in Cappadocia had the olive; cf. Strabo XII 535. For the lack of the olive on the north shore of the Pontus cf. Strabo II 73, 74; for the climate cf. Herod. IV 28; Theophr. De Causis Plant. V 12, 11.

⁷ Strictly speaking, minium is to be distinguished, for it contains oxide of lead. But *μῖλτος* and minium are often confounded, as by Strabo XII 540; cf. also Pliny N. H. XXXIII 36 f.

main place of export.¹ It is found near Sinope, and in Cappadocia its general abundance stains the Halys so deeply that the Turkish name for that stream is Kizil Irmak (red river).

This earthy substance existed, of course, in various other localities of the ancient world. Its importance as an article of trade and commerce is evident from the Athenian monopoly of the Cean product,² from the sealed packages used for the Lemnian article,³ and from the care with which different grades of it are enumerated.⁴ The most important were the Cean, the Lemnian, and the Sinopean. Theophrastus⁵ considers the Cean product better than the others. Pliny⁶ ranks the Lemnian and the Sinopean highest, whereas Strabo⁷ marks the quality of the latter as finest, and an interesting papyrus⁸ gives convincing details of its superiority in weight, rich liver color, moisture, and freedom from grit. The importance of this homely article of Sinopean commerce is indicated by its numerous and heterogeneous uses.⁹ Its colors varied, but some were intense enough to furnish a kind of red ink. It was used as a mineral paint and as an ingredient in other paints, being applied to houses, ships, and wood-work generally. Its more artistic employments were in decorating furniture, wood-carving, terra-cotta figurines and even statues. It was no unimportant part of the ancient *materia medica*, being applied externally as a kind of mud-bath and even taken internally for various diseases specifically listed by Pliny. An architect who desired to use the best material would stipulate in his speci-

¹ Strabo, I. c. *ὀνομάσθη δὲ Σινωπικὴ διότι κατάγειν ἐκείσε εἰώθησαν οἱ ἔμποροι*; Theophr. De Lapidibus 52, *κατάγεται εἰς Σινώπην*; Pliny N. H. XXXV 13. Sinopis inventa primum in Ponto est; inde nomen a Sinope urbe.

² I. G. II (CIA II), 546.

³ Pliny, N. H. XXXV 14.

⁴ Pliny, N. H. XXXV 13. ⁵ De Lap. 52. ⁶ L. c. ⁷ Strabo, XII 540.

⁸ Leemans, Papyri Graeci Lugduni-Batavi X 15, 11, 12, 15. Ibid. X 311 tells how *Sinopis* can be mixed with gold, half and half, to double the amount of the latter.

⁹ Pliny, N. H. XXXV 12, 13, 17, 24, 32; Vitruv. VII 7; Diosc. V 111; Cels. De Medicina V 6, 6; VI 6, 19; Hesychius s. *μίλτος*; Eust. Com. 1166; Boeckh, Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener II² p. 315 f.; Blümner, Technologie und Terminologie IV, p. 480 f. For ships cf. *μυλοπάρηνοι νῆες* in Homer; Pliny, N. H. XXXIII 38; Herod. III 58; Hermann, op. cit. p. 489, note 8. For the use of *μίλτος* for terra-cottas cf. Lucian Lexiph. 22; B. C. H. XIV (1890), p. 503, n. 3; Monuments Piot IV (1898), p. 214; for statues Paus. II 2, 6; Plut. Quaest. Roman., 98, p. 287 b; Xen. Oecon. 10, 5; Hermann, op. cit. p. 201 n. 3. Ladies used it for painting their faces; Guhl und Koner, Leben der Griechen und Römer, p. 316.

fications that certain structural lines be drawn with a pigment made of clean oil and Sinopic earth.¹ I noted at Corinth crosses made with *Sinopsis* to indicate the position for columns² not now in situ, and lines drawn with it to indicate how far blocks of stone were to overlap the stones in the course below.³ In excavations at Miletus the separated drums of columns showed that this substance mixed with oil had been used as a cement.

5. Iron and Steel. At a general distance of about two hundred miles east of Sinope the coast range of mountains draws very near the sea. The whole district is rich in copper, iron, and, in ancient times, even silver⁴. Here the Sinopeans, doubtless attracted by the rich deposits, founded a prosperous colony. Part of the ore was evidently worked into iron and steel implements at Cotyora. But another part was doubtless shipped to the mother-city Sinope to the manufacturers there; for Sinopic steel⁵ was equally celebrated with the Chalybian, Lydian, and Laconian; and it was made into carpenters' tools, whereas the Spartan was used for files, augers, dies and stone-cutters' tools, and the Lydian for similar things, including knives and swords. Hamilton⁶ thinks he has located the ancient mines of the Chalybians at Unieh. But in any case the steel that passed through the port of Sinope was of the finest quality.

6. Live Stock. There is abundant evidence that Cappadocia and Paphlagonia itself nourished great numbers of sheep, goats, mules, horses and other domestic animals.⁷ If we put with this fact the statement of Polybius that live stock was extensively exported from the Pontus, it becomes evident that shipments of this kind were large at Sinope. The word Polybius⁸ uses

¹ I. G. VII (I. G. Sept. I), 3073 = Dittenberger Syl.² no. 540, ll. 155-160. The price was three or three and a half ebols per *σάτρη*, cf. I, G. II, 834^b, col. I, l. 12 (p. 522) and col. II, l. 48 (p. 526).

² As in the long south stoa (Am. J. Arch. VI 1902), Suppl. p. 19.

³ As in the Greek temple near Pirene, Ibid. pl. XVII, the Greek building with a round end (not yet published), the Old Spring, the round basis above the spring (ibid. pl. VII), and elsewhere. So *Sinopsis* was used in Greek buildings as well as in Roman buildings of the Republic. It was also found used for the same purposes in fourth century buildings at Epidaurus and Lesbos.

⁴ Strabo XII 549; Virg. Georg. I 58; Apoll. Rhod. II 1005 f.

⁵ Step. Byz. s. v. *Λακεδαιμίων*, Schol. II. XIII 218; Eustathius 294, 5 on II. II 582; Blümner, Gewerbl. Thätigk. p. 41; Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. II 442, 9, frag. from Daimachus. For artisans etc. at Sinope cf. Polyaen. VII 21, 2; Diog. Laer. VI 20.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 244, 257.

⁷ Strabo XI 525; Eust. Com. 970.

⁸ IV 38.

(*θρέμματα*) as employed in the classifications of the Greeks, included slaves (CIG 1709). Lucian (Alex. 9, 15, 17, 45) speaks of slaves as differing only in form from cattle. The Paphlagonian slave is a frequent figure in the comedies of Aristophanes. The picture of Sinope's commerce must include its traffic in the human species; droves of captive men and women passed down to its fine harbor and were carried in ships to meet the sneers of the cultivated comic poets of Athens.

So great a volume of exports implies a certain amount of imports. Salt came from Olbia¹ and from the interior of Asia Minor² and wine³ from Greece, objects of art also such as statues⁴ and vases, and in general such refinements of the west as well as of the east as the somewhat defective Sinopean culture would demand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDING OF SINOPE.

A city of such impregnability, located in so productive a region, and at the natural gate-way of so vast a commerce, would of course be coveted and fought for. It would have its political vicissitudes, its general culture, and its religious cults. It would develop its great men. It would weave its name into Greek and Latin literature and leave its record in figured coins and in inscriptions on stone. In a word, it would have its history, of which, in this and several succeeding chapters, we aim to give an account.

The uncertain figures of Assyrians move in the mist of its primitive records. There is a Milesian dawn of Greek colonial light quickly clouded by Cimmerian darkness and then rekindled. Then come the nearly blank annals of some one hundred and eighty years on whose last pages the figure of a barbarian tyrant becomes distinct. The Attic rescue follows and the reinforcement by Pericles' six hundred new colonists. Democratic independence displaces tyrannic subjection at Sinope. Anon its colonial dependencies are disturbed and excited by Xenophon's Ten Thousand who have forced their way from the heart of Asia to the sea and

¹ Herod. IV 53; Dio Chrysost. XXXVI 437.

² Strabo XII 546, 560, 561; Eust. Com. 784.

³ Polyb. IV 38.

⁴ Such as the statue of Autolycus by Sthenis, cf. Plut. Luc. 23.

along its shore. The great cynic matures the fearless powers which Athens admired, and the comic poets who woke its laughter, bringing Sinopean culture to its flower in the motherland, arise. With Rhodian help its fortifications resist the engines of Mithradates II, but fall before the sudden onset of Pharnaces, his son. The power of the Pontic conquerors brings Sinope to the climax of its political strength under Mithradates the Great, whose linguistic acquirements were only second to his great military genius, which baffled the utmost power of Rome for nearly half a century. Then come the days of the inevitable Roman yoke, in passing under which Sinope joins the universal procession. Then the intricate entanglements of the Middle Ages and finally the present Turkish dominion.

There is no evidence that the early Phoenicians were at Sinope. The whole main course of the Phoenician commercial empire took its way westward. Its northern and southern movements were only short spurs thrown out of the main range. Although there is at present in the north-western portion and outside the walls by the Turkish Hospital and school, Idadie, and near the water a quarter of the city called *Φοινικίδα*, a late local imagination, thinking of the spot as one to which the Phoenicians would naturally come, may in a fanciful spirit have given it its name. Or the name may be due to the palm tree there.

The early foundations of Sinope are probably Assyrian. The extreme antiquity of that great power is constantly receiving fresh evidence. The code of Hammurabi is dated ca. 2250 B. C. and it seems evident that more than a millennium later in about 1100 B. C. the Assyrian power swept westward through Asia Minor to the Mediterranean. It is incredible that it should not at more than one point have forced its way through the openings in the coastwise mountains to the shore of the Pontus. Its kings have left no monuments along the sea reciting their personal conquests¹, but other evidence of the presence of their subjects is not wanting. In later times, in the seventh century according to Nöldeke², the Assyrian power still extended beyond Sinope

¹ Gelzer's argument (*Zeitschrift f. äg. Sprache* 1874, p. 118 f) that *Mat-qui* (shore-village) which occurs in Assyrian inscriptions, refers to Sinope, is inconclusive, for the word might be intended for almost any coast town in Asia Minor. On p. 119 he goes far astray when he says *qui* or *kui* comes from the name of the founder, *Κώιος*, transposing the lines in Scymnus to suit his theory.

² Cf. his article on *Ἀσσύριος, Σύριος, Σύρος* in *Hermes* V 443 ff.

and Furtwängler thinks of Sinope, as being at about that time the mediating agent by which Assyrian elements, such as griffins' heads and winged human busts on bronze vessels (cf. Olympia Bd. IV, Die Bronzen) came to Greece.¹ Coming down to later times, we recognize the persistence of its Assyrian origin in Sinopic coins with Aramaic inscriptions;² in Avienus' mention of a "second Syria reaching as far as Sinope";³ in Tzetzes' vague statement that "everybody calls Sinope Assyria";⁴ in the legends that the nymph Sinope was the mother of Syros from whom the Syrians got their name, and that she was carried off from Assyria;⁵ in the existence at Sinope even now of a sarcophagus with a Greek inscription indicating that a man named Syrios was buried in it;⁶ and in the fact that the promontory mentioned above (page 126) was called Syrias.

The name Sinope itself evidently antedates Greek settlement, for mythology and tradition indicate, not the colonizing of an uninhabited locality, so much as the taking of the place from previous inhabitants. Strabo⁷ says that Autolycus took possession of (κατέσχε) Sinope, a word whose usage generally indicates seizure or capture. Plutarch⁸ says outright that Autolycus took the town from the Syrians. Apollonius of Rhodes⁹ says that the Argonauts came to the Assyrian land where Zeus had established Sinope, daughter of Asopus, etc. In listing those who in early times inhabited Sinope, Ps. Scymnus¹⁰ speaks of "Sinope, a city named after one of the Amazons, who dwell near by, which formerly the native-born¹¹ Assyrians inhabited, and afterwards the Greeks who went against the Amazons, Autolycus and

¹ Meyer s. Kappadokien in Ersch und Grüber, Encyclopädie and in his Geschichte des Altertums II, p. 225 says there is no monumental evidence. But Furtwängler holds there is, cf. Die Antiken Gemmen III, p. 68.

² Cf. Six, Numismatic Chronicle, 1885 and 1893, p. 7; cf. also Head, Hist. Num. and Brit. Mus. Cat.

³ Müller, Geogr. Min. II, p. 187, vs. 1153.

⁴ Chiliad. 12, 917 τὴν δὲ Σινώπην σύμπαντες καλοῦσιν Ἀσσυρίαν.

⁵ Eust. in Müller, Geogr. Min. II, pp. 352-353, §775 f; Eudocia's Ἰωνία DCCCLXII; Diodorus IV 72, 1, 2; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 948; Et. Mag. s. Σινώπη.

⁶ Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 315.

⁷ XII 545.

⁸ Plut. Luc. 23.

⁹ Argonautica II 948 ff; cf. also Scholium and Herod. II 104.

¹⁰ Vs. 941-952 (Müller, Geogr. Min. I, p. 236).

¹¹ I adopt Meineke's emendation, ἐγγενεῖς.

Deileon and Phlogius, Thessalians". Scylax¹ in a loose way calls Sinope a place in Assyria. Winckler's² conjecture that "Leucosyri" did not originally mean white Assyrians, as Strabo³ thinks, but rather incorporates a corruption of "Lukki", the name of certain Assyrians mentioned in the Tell-El-Amarna tablets, is unlikely. The Assyrians of the north were probably of a lighter complexion than those of the south.

The derivation of the name Sinope perhaps goes back to the Assyrian deity Sin, the moon-god, whose numerical symbol was thirty, in allusion to the period of the moon, and who was the patron of brick-making and building. The worship of the moon along the southern shore of the Pontus was more important than elsewhere in the Greek world.⁴ Assyrians were perpetually compounding the names of towns and persons with the name of the God Sin, and in view of the powerful early influence of Assyria, nothing is more likely than that Sinope would be one more example of such compounds.

If now we recognize the founding of Sinope as Assyrian⁵ it will not seem difficult to dispose of the prominent and persistent myth concerning the nymph Sinope. Greek writers would prefer a Greek to an Assyrian origin of their colony. Although such an etymology has not been mentioned before, I venture to connect the name with *σίνουμαι*, to seize or carry off. This would be the most natural connection of "Sinope" for those who found the word already on the ground and were ignorant of or wished to ignore its Assyrian etymology. On this derivation may have been built up the manifold forms of the rape of the nymph Sinope. Hardly anything is constant in the story except the item of seizure. The God who carries her off is sometimes Zeus, sometimes Apollo, sometimes Poseidon, sometimes the river-God Halys. Her parents are sometimes Asopus and Metope, sometimes Ares and

¹ Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus 89 (Müller, *ibid.* p. 66). So also Nicephorus (Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* II, p. 464) and Nicolaus Damascenus (*Hist. Graeci Minores* ed. Dindorf) p. 32, 7.

² Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-El-Amarna* (Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* Bd. V) 28, 10; Winckler, *Die Völker Vorderasiens* (*Der Alte Orient*, vol. I), p. 23.

³ XII 544, XVI 737.

⁴ Cf. Roscher s. v. Luna, especially the worship of *Μην Φαρνάκον*. In one of the inscriptions I discovered at Sinope Selene is mentioned along with Helios and Hermes and other deities, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 323.

⁵ And this is the opinion of Blau, *op.cit.*, Mövers, *Die Phönizier*, and others, though not of most modern scholars.

Aegina or Parnasse. Sometimes she is carried off from Assyria and sometimes from Boeotia.¹ Sometimes she deceives her captor by exacting a blank promise to give her whatever she should ask and afterwards fills in the blank with her own virginity. Sometimes she has children. But she is always seized and carried off. And this unfailing feature seems to show the source of all the stories to be in the already present but misinterpreted name of the town.²

To this Assyrian town the enterprising Greeks of Miletus, attracted by the mineral wealth of the eastward shores and led to the location by the advantages of its harbor, penetrated at a very early period. The date is difficult to fix, but may perhaps be approximated in the following fashion. Sinope must have existed before 756,³ for Trapezus, its colony,⁴ was founded in that year. Eumelus of Corinth, moreover, in writing up the Argonautic expedition, enriched it with geographical details which included Sinope by name. There is nothing extant of this work of Eumelus, but his mention of the town is cited by the Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 946. Now Eumelus wrote in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. Sinope must therefore have been reached by Greeks before that time. Thus again we are pointed to some period in the first half of the eighth century such as Eusebius' date (II 80 e Schöne) for Trapezus indicates, at least thirty or thirty-five years earlier than 756 B. C., 790 or 785 B. C.,⁵ thus leaving a few years

¹ Probably because the Minyans, with whom the Argonautic expedition was associated, dwelt in Boeotia.

² Cf. Plut. Luc. 23; Apoll. Rhod. II 946-967. The scholia to the latter (Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. II 161; 348, 2; III 29, 3), give excerpts about the nymph Sinope from Andron of Halicarnassus, Andron of Teos, Artemidorus, Eumelus, Aristotle, Hecataeus, and Philostephanus. Cf. also V. Flaccus, Argon. V 106-120; Dionysius Per. vs. 772-779 (Müller, Geogr. Gr. Min. II p. 153); scholia to Dion. Per. (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 453); Eust. Com. 772-774 (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 351); Nicephorus, *Γεωγραφία συνοπτική*, 782 f. (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 464); Diodorus IV 72, 1, 2; Ps. Scymni Periegesis, vs. 941 f. (Müller, *ibid.* I 236); Avienus, vs. 951 f. (Müller, *ibid.* II 185); Et. Mag. s. v. *Σινόπη*; Eudocia's *Ἰωνιά* DCCCLXII, *περὶ Σινόπης*. Sometimes Sinope appears as an Amazon and the story is told that she drank much and hence was called *Σανάπη*, which in the Thracian dialect (which the Amazons spoke) means "drinking much". And Sinope is a corruption of Sanape; cf. the above references.

³ Eusebius, Vers. Arm. Ol. 6, 1; Hieronymus, Ol. 6, 1.

⁴ Xen. Anab. IV 8, 22.

⁵ Curtius, Gr. Geschichte I, p. 407, puts the first foundation in 790 B. C.; Abbott, A History of Greece, I, p. 340 about 770 B. C.; Duncker, Gesch. d. Altert. I, p. 462, 466; V⁵ 507 and Büchner, Die Besiedelung der Küsten des

of prosperity before the Cimmerian inroad in 782 mentioned by Orosius,¹ in which probably Habrondas,² its leader, was killed.³ We must assume that Sinope revived after the destroying nomad tide had swept through in order to account for its founding of Trapezus in 756. What the fortunes of the Greek contingent were for the subsequent century and more, we have no means of knowing. They probably included many vicissitudes connected with the various incursions of the Cimmerians from the northern shore,⁴ one of which penetrated even to Sardis, surprising and plundering the town, and another to Magnesia. However, in 635 B. C., there seems to have been an extraordinarily strong and powerful body of these barbarians driven down by the still stronger nomad Scythians. This body all but destroyed Sinope,⁵ so that its reinforcement in 630 or 629, according as we follow Hieronymus or Eusebius (II 89 n Schöne) was looked upon as a second founding, and Sinope, like Cyzicus, was said to have been founded twice.⁶

Pontos Euxeinos durch die Milesier, p. 49 and Streuber op. cit. about 785. Grote, History of Greece II² 191, note 64 considers improbable the foundation of a Milesian colony at so early a period. Perhaps the first colony was only a small settlement for trade; cf. Busolt, Gr. Gesch. I, p. 466 and Reinach-Götze, op. cit. p. 18. Beloch, Gr. Gesch., says nothing about the first founding; cf. I, p. 192-3 for second founding. Holm, The History of Greece I, p. 275 and Meyer, Gesch. des Altert. I 406 and II 285 give both colonies. There is a great deal of uncertainty about this early period of Greek history and we cannot be sure of dates; but the evidence, including Scymnus whose source, Demetrius of Callatia, was good, points to a double founding.

¹ I 21.

² The name of the leader is variously given. Habrondas seems more likely to be correct than Ambron or Abron. Meineke, Step. Byz. (Berlin, 1849), p. 571 made the suggestion.

³ Ps. Scymnus V 947.

⁴ For the Cimmerians cf. Herod. IV 11, 12; I 6, 15, 16; Strabo, I 1, 6; I 2, 20; I 3, 61; III 2, 149; XI 494; XIV 648.

⁵ Herod. IV 12 says φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν Χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται. The νῦν does not necessarily mean that no Greek city existed when the Cimmerians came, as Grote and Busolt loc. cit. think. There may have been a weak settlement there at the time.

⁶ The second founding was by Cretines and Cous (cf. Phlegon in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. III 605, 6; Eust. ad Dionys. Com. 772; and Ps. Scymnus v. 949.) Acc. to Ps. Scymnus loc. cit., it took place ἡνίκα ὁ Κιμμερίων κατέδραμε τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατός, that is, in the epoch year of the capture of Sardis (657), cf. Rohde, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII 200. If this date is right, then it was not the inroad of the Cimmerians in 635 but an earlier one which settled at Sinope.

The few definite points which we have thus far been able to deduce with anything like certainty, and the dearth of any records at all to cover nearly two succeeding centuries, may naturally occasion scepticism as to there having been any such early founding at all by the Greeks. But the extreme antiquity of the stories of the Argonauts and of Heracles' expedition against the Amazons, both of which have for their scenes the shore of the Black Sea, and in both of which Autolycus, the recognized founder of Sinope, and his companions had part,¹ joins with the strong tradition we have been using to assure us that we are dealing with an historic, even if not with a precisely ascertained, founding of the great Euxine trading port.

CHAPTER V.

DARK AGES AND RENAISSANCE.

Even after Sinope's refounding in 630 its records for nearly two centuries are for the most part blank annals. The Lydian monarchy rose, reached the Halys, and fell. But whether its broad lines of display and vanity penetrated the mountain passes and subjected the shore cities is left in doubt.² Pteria taken by Croesus lay 150 miles to the south and there are no records of any further northward march. Cyrus broke the Lydian power about 550 B. C.; but how soon or how decisively the Persian power subdued the Greek cities of the southern coast of the Euxine is unwritten. Xerxes' expedition in 480 B. C. included

¹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encycl.* II 763 ff. Only Strabo, XII 545, (source perhaps Eumelus) makes Autolycus a comrade of Jason. Cf. also Apollod. I, 9, 16, 8. Plut. *Luc.* 23 says that "Autolycus, son of Deimachus, was on the expedition of Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons. When he was returning with Demoleon and Phlogius he was shipwrecked at Sinope and took the city away from the Syrians". Appian *Mithr.* XII 83 says the same. Cf. also Ps. *Scymnus* v. 944 f; *Anon Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 22. Apollonius of Rhodes combines the two traditions and (II 948-967) says that the sons of Deimachus, Deileon, Autolycus and Phlogius, comrades of Heracles, were picked up by the Argonauts when they came there. V. Flaccus, V 106-120 and Hyg. *Fab.* 14 have the same. Phlogius is mentioned in an inscription found at Sinope, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 306, no. 31. On these heroes cf. Roscher's *Lexicon* and Büchner, *op. cit.* p. 58 and on the Argonauts in general the dissertation by Gröger, *Die Argonauten-Sage* (Breslau, 1889). For Heracles at Sinope cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 305.

² Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I § 487, who thinks not.

among its total of 1200 ships 80 contributed by the Greeks on the Hellespont and the Pontus.¹ It is natural to suppose that Sinope was represented among the eighty, but there is no written evidence of such a fact. Some few rude² coins bearing an eagle and a dolphin and a mere incuse square on the reverse are archaic enough to represent this obscure period of Sinope's story when the great tides of conquest were sweeping to and fro far south of its mountain fences.

In the fifth century relief expeditions began to be sent to the Greek cities of the Black Sea which were under tribute to Persia. Aristides, about 470, did not get so far as Sinope. But later, probably soon after 444,³ in the flowering time of Athens, Pericles, with the design of making a display of Athenian power, and in order to relieve the Greek cities on the Euxine from oppression and to stimulate their trade with Attica, led forth an expedition which reached Sinope. Here he left the efficient Lamachus with thirteen ships and assigned him the task of expelling the tyrant Timesilaus.⁴ The man⁵ who at Syracuse advised the Athenians to fight at once seems to have performed his task with characteristic promptness, and not long afterwards it was voted at Athens that six hundred volunteer colonists should sail for Sinope to occupy the houses and lands of the defeated tyrant and his following. Lamachus can hardly have remained long at Sinope: we find him in 424 B. C. leading another Black Sea expedition which was

¹ Diod. XI 3.

² Num. Zeitschrift II, p. 259; Six, Num. Chron. 1885, pp. 8, 9, 19, 20.

³ Abbott, A History of Greece, II, p. 375, says "after 449 B. C.". Köhler, *Urk. zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisch. Bundes.*, p. 114 f. puts the expedition in the year 453. Duncker, *Des Perikles' Fahrt in den Pontus* (Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Acad., XXVII 1885), p. 536, gives the year 444/3 B. C. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte* II 538 (ed. of 1888), gave the same date but later, in III 585, n. 2, argues against this date and gives 436/5 B. C. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* I 504, gives the same date. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* IV 430, says after 440. Kirchner, *Prosopogr. Att.* 11811 gives 437 B. C. But I see no conclusive reason for putting the expedition so late. Plut. *Per.* 20, places it immediately after that to the Chersonesus in 447. If we accept the date 436 there are 34 years between the first and second expeditions and only 12 between the second and third. In 415 Lamachus was 50 or 55 years old (cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 18). That would make him about 25 or 30 years old at the time of the expedition to the Pontus, if it was circ. 440.

⁴ Plut. *Per.* 20.

⁵ Cf. Busolt, l. c., for the identification of Lamachus, who died in 414 before Syracuse, with the man left in Sinope by Pericles.

wrecked at Heraclea.¹ But from this time Sinope's condition was greatly improved, even its coins showing much finer workmanship.²

Between Lamachus' deposition of the tyrant Timesilaus about 444 B. C. and the Peace of Antalcidas, which deliberately left the Euxine Greeks at the mercy of Persia, lies Sinope's golden day of autonomous prosperity and power.³ Not that we possess the direct recital of it, but the indirect evidence is conclusive. When Xenophon's veterans climbed the coast range and saw the sea, it was Trapezus, a colony of Sinope, that lay directly beneath their eye on the coast.⁴ Although some 250 miles east of Sinope, it owned allegiance to it and paid tribute in common with Cerasus and Cotyora.⁵ That Sinope's colonial arm reached so far may not indeed warrant Perrot and Chipiez⁶ in calling Sesamus, Cytorus, and Ionopolis actual colonies of Sinope, and "multiplied" harbors may be too strong an expression; but it is evident that Sinope had a firm colonial system covering nearly the whole southern shore of the Euxine. Its compactness is illustrated in the speech made to Xenophon by Hecatomus, who had come all the way from Sinope to deal with the Ten Thousand when he says⁷ "These (Cotyrites) and the people of Cerasus and Trapezus bring us an appointed tribute; so that whatever harm you do them, the city of the Sinopeans considers that it suffers it itself". There may have been a lack of Greek unity in the failure of the Cotyrites to receive the Ten Thousand more cordially, but Xenophon's soldiers appear to have behaved somewhat roughly and the colonists may well have been suspicious⁸ of so large and powerful

¹ Thuc. IV 75.

² Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 21.

³ Strabo, XII 546, seems to extend Sinope's autonomous period far onward to the capture of the city by Pharnaces in 183 B. C. But either he wrote in partial ignorance of the results of the Peace of Antalcidas or the autonomy he had in mind was a partial and defective one; for, not to speak of other evidence, the embassy to Darius with which we deal in the next chapter shows a clearly acknowledged general submission to Persia.

⁴ Xen. Anab. IV 8, 22.

⁵ Xen. Anab. V 5, 10. The inhabitants of these two places were later deported by Pharnaces to form Pharnacia, cf. also Diod. XIV 30, 3; Ps. Scymnus 910; Strabo XII 545 f.; and Büchner, *Die Besiedelung des Pontos Euxeiños durch die Milesier*, pp. 56-66.

⁶ *Histoire de l'Art*, V, p. 197.

⁷ Xen. I. c.

⁸ A similar feeling may account for Xenophon's ships going a few miles past Sinope to Armene, as though there were an objection to his anchoring, as he naturally would, at that excellent harbor itself. Cf. Xen. Anab. VI 1, 15.

a force with so adventurous a history back of them. In any case the incident does not affect our view of the unity of Sinope's colonies among themselves. A further evidence of Sinope's independence, may be seen in Xenophon's warning¹ to Hecatonymus against an alliance of the Sinopeans with the Paphlagonians. His words presuppose the desire of the Paphlagonians to get possession of Sinope and their inability hitherto to do so.

The numismatic testimony is interesting. We now for the first time find Sinopean coins bearing the names of magistrates,² or rather the first letters of the names. The inscription on one is EK, which suggests Hecatonymus³, on another XOPH which suggests Χορηγίων and on another ΔΕΩΜ which probably stands for Λεωμέδων.⁴ Their variety, too, points to a democratic form of government. This series comes abruptly to an end a few decades later, and is supplanted by the inferior minting of Datames, which itself is followed by a still poorer coinage with Aramaic inscriptions, some specimens of which bear the names of Ariarathes and Abdsasan (not Abdemon).⁵ But short-lived as the Greek magistrates' coinage was, it bears mute testimony to Sinope's brief autonomy.

There is, moreover, a passage of Strabo which, I think, must be referred to this period and discloses in a brief but effective way the sea power of Sinope. Xenophon⁶ shows us that Sinope with the help of Heraclea, could upon occasion supply ships enough to transport his large force to westward points. But Strabo⁷ says: κατασκευασαμένη δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐπήρχε τῆς ἐντὸς Κυανέων θαλάττης, καὶ ἔξω δὲ πολλῶν ἀγῶνων μετείχε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

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¹ Anab. V 5, 23. Cf. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 40, 260.

² Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 50 gives a list of them.

³ Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 24.

⁴ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 298, 306, 313.

⁵ Cf. Six, *op. cit.* p. 25.

⁶ Anab. V 6 ff.

⁷ XII 545.